

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Armed Forces and confidence man of the Soviet High Command in Rumania.

7. The two Soviet trained factions allied themselves with Gheorghiu-Dej in causing the collapse of the Patrascanu faction. The three victors then formed an alliance and when the Popular Republic was constituted Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca were given posts in the ministry and made vice premiers of the Council of Ministers. At this time the party slogans and songs proclaimed the quadrumvirate Teo (Teohari Georgescu), Luca, Ana, and Dej.
8. As is so often the case, the victors were unable to divide the spoils and bitter factionalism soon developed. Teohari Georgescu was promptly shelved by his three powerful colleagues who were themselves shortly at odds with one another. Luca attacked the General Confederation of Workers which was directed by Gheorghe Apostol and is the exclusive domain of Gheorghiu-Dej and his supporters. In retaliation Gheorghiu-Dej commenced a campaign against the Hungarian Popular Union, the principal support of Luca. He even went further and delivered anti-semitic tirades before a full Assembly. These, of course, were directed at the other triumvir, Ana Pauker, who was herself busily engaged in denouncing her two colleagues.
9. In August 1951 Gheorghiu-Dej went to Moscow to try and resolve the discord between the party leaders. In this venture he managed to assure himself the dominant position in the purge trials which were to follow. The end of the Rumanian troika was prepared.
10. On 4 September 1951 the newspaper Pravda published an article written by "the father of the Rumanian workers", Gheorghiu-Dej. This article dealt with the necessity of "revolutionary vigilance" on the part of those who fight for Socialism. After making allusions to deviations discovered among certain Party members Dej concluded by stating "it has been definitely established that numerous foreign elements have infiltrated into our ranks and especially into the leadership of our Party."
11. It is apparent that Gheorghiu-Dej now had the backing and support of the Kremlin. Pauker and Luca, seeing the writing on the wall, felt it expedient to declare publicly that they had erred and deviated and would henceforth obey the "dearly beloved father of the Rumanian workers".
12. But these precautions were not to save them. Six months later on 6 March 1952 Vasile Luca was dismissed from his post as Minister of Finance. A month and a half after that he was removed from the vice presidency of the Council. He has now been completely removed from public office.
13. On 27 May 1952 the Central Committee, meeting under the presidency of Gheorghiu-Dej stated: "Vasile Luca has put himself in opposition to the general policy of the Party by imposing his own factional and opportunistic conceptions of right which prompted him to encourage the capitalistic elements. . . . By his attitude, the former Minister of Finance has inflicted great losses on the state and has caused difficulties in the provisioning of the working class." This communique which was distributed by the Agerpress agency overtly recognized the deplorable food and general economic situation of the Rumanian workers. The other specific counts of the indictment are patently absurd.
14. On 27 May the session of the Central Committee decided the fate of Ana Pauker and Teohari Georgescu. The latter was accused of collaborating with Luca, concealing his own mistakes, and lacking aggressiveness. He was confronted with the record of his harshness when he acted for the Soviets in organizing and directing the police repressions since 1944. This was an obvious bribe to the people who were not amenable to such repressive tactics and incidentally a direct contradiction to the indictment accusing him of insufficient aggressiveness.

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15. For the first few days little was said about Ana Pauker.. Aside from the replacements made in the General Secretariat and the Politburo no action was taken. Then on 3 June Scanteia was authorized to publish developments in Pauker's case up to that time. At this date she still retained the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Scanteia informed us that on 27 May she was severely criticized for having aided and encouraged the deviations of Luca and Georgescu. She was openly accused of complicity in the conspiracy engaged in by these men against Gheorghiu-Dej and the word "treason" was used.
16. Scanteia informs us that the three accused met in secret and formed plans to thwart the official policy of the Rumanian Communist Party. Ana Pauker was accused of both aiding the rebellious peasants in their attempt to resist collectivization and of forcing collectivization on those who did not wish it. The three accused, especially Ana Pauker, were also censured for "their manner of aristocratic living and their remoteness from all contact with the popular masses".
17. It has been suggested that Ana Pauker's collapse is an indication of a new anti-semitic vogue in the Rumanian Communist Party. This hypothesis has just been refuted, however, by the rise to power of the Bessarabian Jew, Joseph Chisinevski, who is now second in command to Gheorghiu-Dej.
18. Along with Luca, Pauker, and Georgescu, three old Social Democrats were purged from the Government. Lothar Radaceanu, the Minister of Labor and Stefan Voitec and Iordachescu, both known for their activities in bringing about the dissolution via unification of the Social-Democratic Party, were dismissed from their posts in the Politburo. Gheorghe Vasilichi, friend of Patrascanu and "Western" Communist was relieved as Minister of Petroleum in March 1951 and purged from the Politburo with the others. Their places were filled by General Petre Borila, one of the leaders of the Tatar-Bunar revolt in Bessarabia (1924), by Constantin Parvulescu, who was for a very short time the Secretary General of the illegal Communist Party, and by the Minister of Soviet Forces in Bucharest. All three are reputedly strongly pro-Soviet.
19. Tentative Conclusions:
  - a. The unifying of the Rumanian Communist Party under Gheorghiu-Dej at the expense of Luca and Pauker does not have any anti-semitic ramifications but appears to be a bribe to the national feeling and chagrin of the population.
  - b. In reorganizing the Rumanian Communist Party Gheorghiu-Dej hopes to assure himself of the support of the young elements and particularly of the old collaborators of Ana Pauker. He has offered high political posts to members of both of these groups. This reorganization corresponds to the retrenchment in the Cominform.
  - c. The growing importance of the military elements, the introduction in the Politburo of two generals, and the general concentration of Party power would seem to indicate that the Rumanian Communist Party is stiffening its control over the population and is preparing for eventual international trouble.
  - d. By following the Moscow line in its policy of economic subjugation of the masses the regime in Bucharest has incurred grave difficulties which it can no longer hide. In order to appease the people, scapegoats

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have been found for each setback. Vasile Luca was made responsible for the economic and finance disorders. Teohari Georgescu had not filled up a sufficient number of concentration camps but was accused of both harshness and insufficient aggressiveness. Ana Pauker, whose duties were in the sphere of foreign affairs, was declared directly responsible for the resistance of the peasants to collectivization.

- e. In every way these purges hit the pro-Soviet Rumanian Communists with the same fury as the "Western" cosmopolitan Communists and the old Social Democrats. The former are hated by the population for their exploitation of the people and their obedience to Moscow and the latter, according to Moscow, no longer offer the regime a support which inspires confidence.
- f. Following closely the internal struggles of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovakian Communist parties, the crises in the Rumanian party demonstrates once more the lack of stability in the Stalin dictatorship which at each political turn of events is obliged to swallow up its own creatures.

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